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The ADDRESS and REASONS of Diſſent of the Minority of the Convention of the State of Pennſylvania to their Conſtituents.

(Continued from our laſt.)

Our objections are compriſed under three general heads of diſſent, viz.

We diſſent, firſt, becauſe it is the opinion of the moſt celebrated writers on government, and confirmed by uniform experience, that a very extenſive territory cannot be governed on the principles of freedom, otherwiſe than by a confederation of republics, poſſeſſing all the powers of internal government; but united in the management of their general and foreign concerns.

If any doubt could have been entertained of the truth of the foregoing principle, it has been fully removed by the conceſſion of Mr. Wilſon, one of the majority on this queſtion, and who was one of the deputies in the late general convention. In juſtice to him we will give his own words; they are as follows, viz. "The extent of country for which the new conſtitution was required, produced another difficulty in the buſineſs of the federal convention. It is the opinion of ſome celebrated writers, that to a ſmall territory, the democratical; to a middling territory (as Monteſquieu has termed it) the monarchial; and to an extenſive territory, the deſpotic form of government, is beſt adapted. Regarding then the wide and almoſt unbounded juriſdiction of the United States, at firſt view, the hand of deſpotiſm ſeemed neceſſary to controul, connect and protect it; and hence the chief embarraſſment roſe.—— For we knew that, although our conſtituent would cheerfully ſubmit to the legiſlative reſtraints of a free government, they would ſpurn at every attempt to ſhackle them with deſpotic power." And again in another part of his ſpeech he continues. "Is it probable that the diſſolution of the ſtate governments and the eſtabliſhment of one *conſolidated empire* would be eligible in its nature, and ſatisfactory to the people in its adminiſtration? I think not, as I have given reaſons to ſhew that ſo extenſive a territory could not be governed connected, and preſerved, but by *ſupremacy of deſpotic power*. All the exertions of the moſt potent emperors of Rome were not capable of keeping that empire together, which in extent was far inferior to the dominion of America."

We diſſent, ſecondly, becauſe the powers veſted in Congreſs by this conſtitution, muſt neceſſarily annihilate and abſorb the legiſlative, executive and judicial powers of the ſeveral ſtates, and procure from their ruins one conſolidated government, which from the nature of things will be an *hereditary deſpotiſm*, as nothing ſhort of the ſupremacy of deſpotic ſway, could connect and govern theſe United States under one government.

As the truth of this poſition is of ſuch deciſive importance, it ought to be fully inveſtigated and if it is founded to be clearly aſcertained; for, ſhould it be demonſtrated, that the powers veſted by this conſtitution in Congreſs; will have ſuch an effect, as neceſſarily to produce one conſolidated government, the queſtion then will be reduced to this ſhort iſſue, viz. whether ſatiated with the bleſſings of liberty; whether repenting of the folly of ſo recently aſſerting their unalienable rights, againſt foreign deſpots, at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, and ſuch painful and arduous ſtruggles, the people of America are now willing to reſign every privilege of freemen, and ſubmit to the domination of an abſolute government, that will embrace all America in one chain of deſpotiſm; or whether they will with virtuous indignation, ſpurn at the ſhackles prepared for them, and confirm their liberties by a conduct becoming freemen.

That the new government will not be a confederacy of ſtates, as it ought, but one conſolidated government, founded upon the deſtruction of the ſeveral governments of the ſtates, we ſhall now ſhew.

The powers of Congreſs under the new conſtitution, are compleat and unlimited over the *purſe* and the *ſword*, and are perfectly independent of, and ſupreme over, the ſtate governments: whoſe intervention in theſe great points is entirely deſtroyed. By virtue of their power of taxation, Congreſs may command the whole, or any part of the property of the people. They may impoſe what impoſts upon commerce; they may impoſe what land taxes, poll taxes, exciſes, duties on all written inſtruments, and duties on every other article that they may judge proper; in ſhort, every ſpecies of taxation, whether of an external or internal nature is comprized in ſection 8th, of article 1ſt, viz. "The Congreſs ſhall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, impoſts and exciſes, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States."

As there is no one article of taxation reſerved to the ſtate governments, the Congreſs may monopoliſe every ſource of revenue, and thus indirectly demoliſh the ſtate governments, for without funds they could not exiſt, the taxes, duties and exciſes impoſed by Congreſs may be ſo high as to render it impracticable to levy further ſums on the ſame articles; but whether this ſhould be the caſe or not, if the ſtate governments ſhould preſume to impoſe taxes, duties or exciſes, on the ſame articles with Congreſs, the latter may abrogate and repeal the laws whereby they are impoſed, upon the allegation that they interfere with the due collection of their taxes, duties or exciſes, by virtue of the following clauſe, part of ſection 8th, article 1ſt, viz. "To make all laws which ſhall be neceſſary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers veſted by this conſtitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

The Congreſs might gloſs over this conduct by conſtruing every purpoſe for which the ſtate legiſlatures now lay taxes, to be for the "*general welfare*," and therefore as of their juriſdiction.

And the ſupremacy of the laws of the United States is eſtabliſhed by article 6th, viz. "That this conſtitution and the laws of the United States, which ſhall be made in purſuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under the authority of the United States, ſhall be the ſupreme law of the land; and the judges in every ſtate ſhall be bound thereby, any thing in the conſtitution or laws of any ſtate to the contrary notwithſtanding." It has been alledged that the words "purſuant to the conſtitution," are a reſtriction upon the authority of Congreſs; but when it is conſidered that by other ſections they are inveſted with every efficient power of government, and which may be exerciſed to the abſolute deſtruction of the ſtate governments, without any violation of even the forms of the conſtitution, this ſeeming reſtriction, as well as every other reſtriction is, appears to us to be nugatory and deluſive; and only introduced as a blind upon the real nature of the government. In our opinion, "purſuant to the conſtitution," will be co extenſive with the *will* and *pleaſure* of Congreſs, which, indeed, will be the only limitations of their powers.

We apprehend, that two co ordinate ſovereignties would be a ſoleciſm in politics. That therefore as there is no line of diſtinction drawn between the general, and ſtate governments, as the ſphere of their juriſdiction is undefined, it would be contrary to the nature of things, that both ſhould exiſt together, one or the other would neceſſarily triumph in the fitneſs of dominion. However the conteſt could not be of long continuance, as the ſtate governments are diveſted of every means of defence, and will be obliged by "the ſupreme law of the land" *to yield at diſcretion.*

It has been objected to this total deſtruction of the ſtate governments, that the exiſtence of their legiſlatures is made eſſential to the organization of Congreſs; that they muſt aſſemble for the appointment of the ſenators and preſident general of the United States. True, the ſtate legiſlatures may be continued for ſome years as boards of appointment, merely, after they are diveſted of every other function; but the framers of the conſtitution, foreſeeing that the people will ſoon be diſguſted with this ſolemn mockery of government without power and uſefulneſs, have made a proviſion for relieving them from the impoſition, in ſection 4th. of article 1ſt, viz. "The time, places, and manner of holding elections for ſenators and repreſentatives, ſhall be preſcribed in each ſtate by the legiſlature thereof; but the Congreſs may at any time, by law make or alter ſuch regulations; except as to the place of chuſing ſenators."

As Congreſs have the controul over the time of the appointment of the preſident general, of the ſenators and of the repreſentatives of the United States they may prolong their exiſtence in office for life, by poſtponing the time of their election and appointment, from period to period, under various pretences, ſuch, as an apprehenſion of inveſion, the factious diſpoſition of the people, or any other plauſible preſence that the occaſion may ſuggeſt; and having thus obtained life eſtates in the government, they may fill up the vacancies themſelves, by their controul over the mode of appointment; with this exception in regard of the ſenators, that as the place of appointment for them, muſt, by the conſtitution, be in the particular ſtate, they may depute ſome body in the reſpective ſtates, to fill up the vacancies in the ſenate, occaſioned by death, until they can venture to aſſume it themſelves. In this manner, may the only reſtriction in this clauſe, be evaded. By virtue of the foregoing ſection, when the ſpirit of the people ſhall be gradually broken; when the general government ſhall be firmly eſtabliſhed, and when a numerous ſtanding army ſhall render oppoſition vain, the Congreſs may compleat the ſyſtem of deſpotiſm, in renouncing all dependence on the people, by continuing themſelves, and children in the government.

The celebrated Monteſquieu, in his ſpirit of laws, vol. 1, page 12, ſays, that in a democracy there can be no exerciſe of ſovereignty, but by the ſuffrages of the people, which are their will; now the ſovereign's will is the ſovereign himſelf; the laws therefore, which eſtabliſh the right of ſuffrage, are fundamental to this government. In fact, it is as important to regulate in a republic in what manner, by whom and concerning what, ſuffrages are to be given, as it is in a monarchy to know who is the prince, and after what manner he ought to govern." The time, mode, and place of the election of repreſentatives, ſenators and preſident general of the United States, ought not to be under the controul of Congreſs, but fundamentally aſcertained and eſtabliſhed.

The new conſtitution, conſiſtently with the plan of confederation, contains no reſervation of the rights and privileges of the ſtate governments, which was made in the confederation of the year 1778, by article the 2d, viz. "That each ſtate retains its ſovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, juriſdiction and right, which is by this confederation expreſſly delegated to the United States in Congreſs aſſembled."

The legiſlative power veſted in Congreſs by the foregoing recited ſections is found limited in its nature; may be ſo comprehenſive and boundleſs in its exerciſe, that this alone would be amply ſufficient to annihilate the ſtate governments, and ſwallow them up in the grand vortex of general empire.

The judicial powers veſted in Congreſs are alſo ſo various and expenſive, that by legal ingenuity they may be extended to every caſe, and thus abſorb the ſtate judiciaries, and when we conſider the deciſive influence that a general judiciary would have over the civil polity of the ſeveral ſtates, we do not heſitate to pronounce that this power, unaided by the legiſlative would effect a conſolidation of the ſtates under one government.

The powers of a court of equity, veſted by this conſtitution, in the tribunals of Congreſs; powers which do not exiſt in Pennſylvania, unleſs ſo far as they can be incorporated with jury trial, would, in this ſtate, greatly contribute to this event. The rich and wealthy ſuitors would eagerly lay hold of the infinite mazes, perplexities and delays, which a court of chancery, with the appellate powers of the ſupreme court in fact as well as law would furniſh him with, and thus the poor man being plunged in the bottomleſs pit of legal diſcuſſion, would drop his demand in deſpair.

In ſhort, conſolidation pervades the whole conſtitution. It begins with an enunciation that ſuch was the intention. The main pillars of the fabric correſpond with it, and the concluding paragraph is a confirmation of it. The preamble begins with the words, "We the people of the United States," which is the ſtyle of a compact between individuals entering into a ſtate of ſociety, and not that of a confederation of ſtates. The other features of conſolidation, we have before noticed.

Thus we have fully eſtabliſhed the poſition, the powers veſted by this conſtitution in

effect a conſolidation of the ſtates under one go-
ment, which even the advocates of this conſti-
tion admit, could not be done, without the ſacri
fice of all liberty.

We diſſent, thirdly, becauſe if it were practi
cable to govern ſo extenſive a territory as theſe Unit
ed States includes, on the plan of a conſolidated go
vernment, conſiſtent with the principles of liberty
and the happineſs of the people, yet the conſtruction
of this conſtitution is not calculated to attain the ob-
ject, for independent of the nature of the caſe, it
would of itſelf, neceſſarily, produce a deſpotiſm, and
that not by the uſual gradations, but with the celeri-
rity that has hitherto only attended revolutions
effected by the ſword,

To eſtabliſh the truth of this poſition, a curſory
inveſtigation of the principles and form of this con-
ſtitution will ſuffice

The firſt conſideration that this review ſuggeſts,
is the omiſſion of a BILL of RIGHTS, aſcertaining
and fundamentally eſtabliſhing theſe unalienable and
perſonal rights of men, without the full, free and
ſecure enjoyment of which there can be no liberty,
and over which it is not neceſſary for a good go ern-
ment to have the controul. The principal of which
are the rights of conſcience, perſonal liberty by the
clear and unequivocal eſtabliſhment of the writ of ha-
beas corpus, jury trial in criminal and civil caſes,
by an impartial jury of the vicinage or country, with
the common law proceedings, for the ſafety of the
accuſed in criminal proſecutions; and the liberty of
the preſs, the ſcourge of tyrants, and the grand bul
wark of every other liberty and privilege: the ſtipu-
lations heretofore made in favor of them in the ſtate
conſtitutions, are entirely ſuperceded by this conſti-
tution.

The legiſlature of a free country ſhould be ſo form-
ed as to have a competent knowledge of its conſtitu-
ents, and enjoy their confidence. To produce theſe
eſſential requiſites, the repreſentation ought to be
fair, equal and ſufficiently numerous, to poſſeſs the
the ſame intereſts, feelings, opinions and views,
which the people themſelves would poſſeſs, were
they all aſſembled; and ſo numerous as to prevent
bribery and undue influence, and ſo reſponſible to
the people, by frequent and fair elections, as to pre-
vent their neglecting, or ſacrificing the views and in-
tereſts of their conſtituents, to their own purſuits

We will now bring the legiſlature under this con-
ſtitution to the teſt of the foregoing principles, which
will demonſtrate, that it is deficient in every eſſential
quality of a juſt and ſafe repreſentation.

The houſe of repreſentatives is to conſiſt of ſixty
five members: that is one for about every 50,000
inhabitants, to be choſen every two years. Thirty
three members will form a quorum for doing buſineſs,
and ſeventeen of theſe, being the majority, deter-
mine the enſe of the houſe.

The ſenate, the other conſtituent branch of the
legiſlature, conſiſts of 26 members, being two from
each ſtate, appointed by their legiſlatures every ſix
years: fourteen ſenators make a quorum: the majo.
rity of whom, eight, determines the ſenſe of that
body; except in judging on impeachments, or in mak-
ing treaties, or in expelling a member, when two
thirds of the ſenators preſent, muſt concur.

The preſident is to have the controul over the
enacting of laws, ſo far as to make the concurrence of
two thirds of the repreſentators and ſenators preſent
neceſſary, if he ſhould object to the laws.

That it appears, that the liberties, happineſs, in-
tereſts, and great concerns, of the whole United
States, may be dependent upon the integrity, virtue
wiſdom and knowledge of 25 or 26 men. How ina-
dequate and unſafe a repreſentation! Inadequate,
becauſe the ſenſe and views of three or four millions
of people diffuſed over ſo extenſive a territory com-
priſing ſuch various climates, products, habits, in-
tereſts and opinions, can not be collected in ſo ſmall a
body; and beſides, it is not a fair and equal repreſen-
tation of the people even in proportion to its number,
for the ſmalleſt ſtate has as much weight in the ſe-
nate as the largeſt, and from the ſmallneſs of the num-
ber to be choſen for both branches of the legiſlature;
and from the mode of election and appointment, which
is under the controul of Congreſs: and from the na-
ture of the thing, men of the moſt elevated rank in
life, will alone be choſen. The other orders in the
ſociety, ſuch as farmers, traders, and mechanics,
who all ought to have a competent number of their
beſt informed men in the legiſlature, will be totally
unrepreſented.

The repreſentation is unſafe because in the exer-
ciſe of ſuch great powers and truſts, it is ſo expoſed
to corruption and undue influence, by the gift of the
numerous places of honor and emolument, at the diſ-
poſal of the executive; by the arts and addreſs of the
great and deſigning; and by direct bribery.

The repreſentation is moreover inadequate and un-
ſafe, becauſe of the long terms for which it is appoint-
and the mode of its appointment, by which Con-
may not only controul the choice of the people,
but may ſo manage as to diveſt the people of this fun-
damental right, and become ſelf elected

The number of members in the houſe of repreſen-
tatives may be encreaſed to one for every 30 000 in-
habitants. But when we conſider, that this cannot
be done without the conſent of the ſenate, who from
their ſhare of the legiſlative, in the executive, and
judicial departments, and permanency of appoint-
ment, will be the great efficient body in this govern
ment, and whoſe weight and predominancy would be
abridged by an increaſe of the repreſentatives, we are
perſuaded that this is a circumſtance that cannot be
expected On the contrary, the number of repre-
ſentatives will probably be continued at 65, although
the population of the country may ſwell to treble
what it now is; unleſs a revolution ſhould effect a
change: we have before noticed the judicial powers
it would effect a conſolidation of the ſtates into one go-
vernment; we will now examine it, as it would affect
the liberties and welfare of the people ſuppoſing ſuch
a government were practicable and proper.

The judicial power, under the propoſed conſtitu-
tion, is founded on the well known principles of the
civil law, by which the judge determines both on law
and fact, and appeals are allowed from the inferior
tribunals to the ſuperior, upon the whole queſtion;
ſo that facts, as well as law, would be re examined,
and even new facts brought forward in the court of ap-
peals; and to uſe the words of a very eminent Civi-
lian, "The cauſe is many times another thing before
the court of appeals, than what it was at the time of
the firſt ſentence"

That this mode of proceeding is the one which muſt
be adopted under this conſtitution, is evident from
the following circumſtances; 1ſt That the trial by
jury; which is the grand characteriſtic of the common
law is ſecured by the conſtitution, only in criminal
caſes. 2d. That the appeal from both law and fact
is expreſſly eſtabliſhed, which is utterly inconſiſtent
with the principles of the common law, and trials by
jury. The only mode in which an appeal from law
and fact can be eſtabliſhed, is, by adopting the prin-
ciples and practice of the civil law; unleſs the United
States ſhould be drawn into the abſurdity of calling
and ſwearing juries, merely, for the purpoſe of con-
tradicting their verdicts, which would render juries
contemptible and worſe than uſeleſs. 3d. That the
courts to be eſtabliſhed would decide on all caſes of
law and equity, which is a well known characteriſtic
of the civil law, and theſe courts would have cogni-
zance not only of the laws of the United States and of
treaties, and of caſes affecting ambaſſadors, but of
all caſes of admiralty and maritime juriſdiction, which
laſt are matters belonging excluſively to the civil law,
in every nation in Chriſtendom

Not to enlarge upon the loſs of the invaluable right
of trial by an unbiaſſed jury, ſo dear to every friend
of liberty, the monſtrous expence and inconvenience
of the mode of proceedings to be adopted, are ſuch,
as will prove intolerable to the people of this country.
The lengthy proceedings of the civil law courts in the
chancery of England, and in the courts of Scotland
and France, are ſuch that few men of middle for-
tune can endure the expence of; the poor man muſt
there ſubmit to the wealthy. Length of purſe
will too often prevail againſt right and juſtice. For
inſtance, we are told by the learned judge Blackſtone,
that a queſtion only on the property of an ox, of the
value of three guineas, originating under the civil law
proceedings in Scotland, after many interlocutory
orders and ſentences below, was carried at length
from the court of quarter ſeſſions, the higheſt court
in that part of Great Britain, by way of appeal to the
houſe of lords, where the queſtion of law and
fact was finally determined He adds, that no
pique or ſpirit, could in the court of the king's bench,
or common pleas at Weſtminſter, have given conti
nuance to ſuch a cauſe for a tenth part of the time,
nor have coſt above the tenth part of the expence Yet
the coſt in the courts of the king's bench and com-
mon pleas in England, are infinitely greater than
thoſe which the people of the country have ever ex
perienced. We abhor the idea of loſing the tran
ſcendent privilege of trial by jury, with the loſs of
which, it is remarked by the ſame learned author,
that in Sweden the liberties of the commons were ex
tinguiſhed by an ariſtocratic ſenate; and that trial by
jury and the liberty of the people went out together.
At the ſame time we regret the intolerable delay, the
enormous expences and infinite vexation to which
the people of this country will be expoſed from the
voluminous proceedings of the courts of civil law and
eſpecially from the appellate juriſdiction, by means
of which a man may be drawn from the utmoſt boun
daries of this extenſive country to the ſeat of the ſu-
preme court of the nation to contend, perhaps, with
a wealthy and powerful adverſary. The conſequence
of this eſtabliſhment will be an abſolute confirmation
of the power of ariſtocratical influence in the courts
of juſtice; for the common people will not be able to
contend or ſtruggle againſt it.

(To be continued.)

Meſſrs. Printers,

If you think the following piece will entertain any
of your readers you will oblige a correſpondent
by inſerting it.

INDULGENT nature ſeems to have exempted
this country from many of thoſe epidemic evils
which are ſo fatal in other parts of the world. A
want of rain for a few days beyond the expected ſea-
ſon, in ſome parts of the globe, ſpreads famine, de-
ſtitution, and terror, over the whole country, but,
in this fortunate land, the inhabitant counts health
in every breeze, and the huſbandman ever ſows in
joyful expectation.

But though the country be exempt from real e-
vils, it is not more happy on this account than others.
The people are afflicted, it is true, with neither
famine nor peſtilence, but then there is a diſorder
peculiar to the country, which every ſeaſon makes
ſtrange ravages among them; it ſpreads with peſti-
lential rapidity, and infects almoſt every rank of peo-
ple; what is ſtill more ſtrange this peculiar malady
has no name; which I ſhall give the appellation of
Epidemic Terror.

A ſeaſon is never known to paſs, in which the peo-
ple are not viſited by this cruel calamity, in one ſhape
or another, ſeemingly different, though ever the
ſame; one year it aſſumes from a baker's ſhop in the
ſhape of a pound cake, the next it takes the appear-
ance of a comet with a fiery tail, the third it threa-
tens like a flat bottomed boat, and the fourth it cer-
ties conſternation in the bite of a mad dog The
people, when once infected, looſe their reliſh for
happineſs, ſaunter about with looks of dependence,
aſk for the calamities of the day and receive no com-
fort but in beholding each others diſtreſs. It is in-
ſignificant how remote or near, how weak or power-
full, the objects of terror may be, when once they
reſolve to fright and be frighted; the moſt uſual
ſow conſternation and dismay; each proportions his
fears, not to the object, but the dread of others;
for, when once the fermentation is begun, it goes on
of itſelf, though the original cauſe be diſcontinued
which firſt ſet it in motion.

A dread of mad dogs is the epidemic terror which
now prevails, and part of the country is actually
groaning under the malignity of its influence. The
people ſally from their houſes with that circumſpec-
tion which is prudent in ſuch as expect a mad dog at
every corner.

The manner of knowing whether a dog be mad or
not, ſomewhat reſembles the ancient cuſtom of try-
ing witches. The old woman ſuſpected was tied
hand and foot and thrown into the water. If ſhe
ſwam, then ſhe was inſtantly carried off to be burnt
for a witch: if ſhe ſunk, then indeed ſhe was acquit-
ted of the charge, but drowned in the experiment.
In the ſame manner a crowd gather round a dog ſuſ-
pected of madneſs, and they begin by teazing the de-
voted animal on every ſide If he attempts to ſtand
on the defenſive, and bite then he is unanimouſly
found guilty, for "a mad dog always ſnaps at every
thing." If, on the contrary, he ſtrives to eſcape by
running away, then he can expect no compaſſion,
"for mad dogs always run ſtraight forward before
them."

It is pleaſant enough for a neutral being, like me,
who has no ſhare in theſe dear calamities, to mark
the ſtages of this dreadful diſeaſe. The terror at firſt
feebly enters with a diſregarded ſtory of a little dog,
that had gone through the neighbourhood, which
was thought to be mad by ſeveral who had ſeen him.
The next account comes, that a maſtiff ran through a
certain town, and had bit five geeſe, which imme-
diately ran mad, foamed at the bill, and died in great
agonies ſoon after. Then comes an affecting ſtory of
a poor little boy bit in the leg, and death is inevitable
for the want of ſalt water to bathe him in. When
the people have ſufficiently ſhuddered at that, they
are next congealed with a frightful account of a man
who was ſaid lately to have died from a bite he had
received ſome years before. This relation only pre-
pares the way for another ſtill more hideous: as how
the maſter of the family, with ſeven children, were
all bit by a mad lap dog; and how the poor father
firſt perceived the infection by calling for a draught of
water, where he ſaw the lap dog ſwimming in the
cup.

When epidemic terror is thus once excited, every
morning comes loaded with ſome new diſaſter; as in
ſtories of ghoſts each loves to hear the account, tho'
it only ſerves to make him uneaſy, ſo here each liſtens
with eagarneſs, and adds to the tidings with new
circumſtances of horror. A lady, for inſtance, in
the country of very weak nerves, has been fright-
ed with the barking of a dog; and this, alas! too fre-
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ſpreads, that a mad dog had frighted a lady of diſtinc-
tion. Theſe circumſtances begin to grow terrible
before they have reached the neighbouring village;
and there the report is, that a lady of quality was bit

effect a conſolidation of the ſtates under one government, which even the advocates of this conſtitution admit, could not be done, without the ſacrifice of all liberty.

We diſſent, thirdly, becauſe if it were practicable to govern ſo extenſive a territory as theſe United States includes, on the plan of a conſolidated government, conſiſtent with the principles of liberty and the happineſs of the people, yet the conſtruction of this conſtitution is not calculated to attain the object, for independent of the nature of the caſe, it would of itſelf, neceſſarily, produce a deſpotiſm, and that not by the uſual gradations, but with the celerity that has hitherto only attended revolutions effected by the ſword.

To eſtabliſh the truth of this poſition, a curſory inveſtigation of the principles and form of this conſtitution will ſuffice

The firſt conſideration that this review ſuggeſts, is the abſence of a BILL OF RIGHTS, aſcertaining and fundamentally eſtabliſhing thoſe unalienable and perſonal rights of men, without the full, free and ſecure enjoyment of which there can be no liberty, and over which it is not neceſſary for a good government to have the controul. The principal of which are the rights of conſcience, perſonal liberty by the clear and unequivocal eſtabliſhment of the writ of habeas corpus, jury trial in criminal and civil caſes, by an impartial jury of the vicinage or country, with the common law proceedings, for the ſafety of the accuſed in criminal proſecutions; and the liberty of the preſs, the ſcourge of tyrants, and the grand bulwark of every other liberty and privilege: the ſtipulations heretofore made in favor of them in the ſtate conſtitutions, are entirely ſuperceded by this conſtitution.

The legiſlature of a free country ſhould be ſo formed as to have a competent knowledge of its conſtituents, and enjoy their confidence. To produce theſe eſſential requiſites, the repreſentation ought to be fair, equal and ſufficiently numerous, to poſſeſs the the ſame intereſts, feelings, opinions and views, which the people themſelves would poſſeſs, were they all aſſembled; and ſo numerous as to prevent bribery and undue influence, and ſo reſponſible to the people, by frequent and fair elections, as to prevent their neglecting, or ſacrificing the views and intereſts of their conſtituents, to their own purſuits

We will now bring the legiſlature under this conſtitution to the teſt of the foregoing principles, which will demonſtrate, that it is deficient in every eſſential quality of a juſt and ſafe repreſentation.

The houſe of repreſentatives is to conſiſt of ſixty five members: that is one for about every 50,000 inhabitants, to be choſen every two years. Thirty three members will form a quorum for doing buſineſs, and ſeventeen of theſe, being the majority, determine the ſenſe of the houſe.

The ſenate, the other conſtituent branch of the legiſlature, conſiſts of 26 members, being two from each ſtate, appointed by their legiſlatures every ſix years: fourteen ſenators make a quorum: the majority of whom, eight, determines the ſenſe of that body; except in judging on impeachments, or in making treaties, or in expelling a member, when two thirds of the ſenators preſent, muſt concur.

The preſident is to have the controul over the enacting of laws, ſo far as to make the concurrence of two thirds of the repreſentators and ſenators preſent neceſſary, if he ſhould object to the laws.

That it appears, that the liberties, happineſs, intereſts, and great concerns, of the whole United States, may be dependent upon the integrity, virtue wiſdom and knowledge of 25 or 26 men. How inadequate and unſafe a repreſentation! Inadequate, becauſe the ſenſe and views of three or four millions of people diffuſed over ſo extenſive a territory, comprehending ſuch various climates, products, habits, intereſts and opinions, can not be collected in ſo ſmall a body; and beſides, it is not a fair and equal repreſentation of the people even in proportion to its number, for the ſmalleſt ſtate has as much weight in the ſenate as the largeſt, and from the ſmallneſs of the number to be choſen for both branches of the legiſlature; and from the mode of election and appointment, which is under the controul of Congreſs: and from the nature of the thing, men of the moſt elevated rank in life, will alone be choſen. The other orders in the ſociety, ſuch as farmers, traders, and mechanics, who all ought to have a competent number of their beſt informed men in the legiſlature, will be totally unrepreſented.

The repreſentation is unſafe because in the exerciſe of ſuch great powers and truſts, it is ſo expoſed to corruption and undue influence, by the gift of the numerous places of honor and emolument, at the diſpoſal of the executive; by the arts and addreſs of the great and deſigning; and by direct bribery.

The repreſentation is moreover inadequate and unſafe, becauſe of the long terms for which it is appointed and the mode of its appointment, by which Congreſs may not only controul the choice of the people, but may ſo manage as to diveſt the people of this fundamental right, and become ſelf elected

The number of members in the houſe of repreſentatives may be encreaſed to one for every 30 000 inhabitants. But when we conſider, that this cannot be done without the conſent of the ſenate, who from their ſhare of the legiſlative, in the executive, and judicial departments, and permanency of appointment, will be the great efficient body in this government, and whoſe weight and predominancy would be abridged by an increaſe of the repreſentatives, we are perſuaded that this is a circumſtance that cannot be expected On the contrary, the number of repreſentatives will probably be continued at 65, although the population of the country may ſwell to treble what it now is; unleſs a revolution ſhould effect a change: we have before noticed the judicial power as it would effect a conſolidation of the ſtates into one government; we will now examine it, as it would affect the liberties and welfare of the people ſuppoſing ſuch a government were practicable and proper.

The judicial power, under the propoſed conſtitution, is founded on the well known principles of the civil law, by which the judge determines both law and fact, and appeals are allowed from the inferior tribunals to the ſuperior, upon the whole queſtion; ſo that facts, as well as law, would be re examined, and even new facts brought forward in the courts of appeals; and to uſe the words of a very eminent Civilian, "The cauſe is many times another thing before the court of appeals, than what it was at the time of the firſt ſentence"

That this mode of proceeding is the one which muſt be adopted under this conſtitution, is evident from the following circumſtances; 1ſt That the trial by jury; which is the grand characteriſtic of the common law is ſecured by the conſtitution, only in criminal caſes. 2d. That the appeal from both law and fact is expreſſly eſtabliſhed, which is utterly inconſiſtent with the principles of the common law, and trials by jury. The only mode in which an appeal from law and fact can be eſtabliſhed, is, by adopting the principles and practice of the civil law; for if the United States ſhould be driven to the abſurdity of calling and ſwearing juries, merely, for the purpoſe of contradicting their verdicts, which would render juries contemptible and worſe than uſeleſs. 3d. That the courts to be eſtabliſhed would decide on all caſes of law and equity, which is a well known characteriſtic of the civil law, and theſe courts would have cognizance not only of the laws of the United States and of treaties, and of caſes affecting ambaſſadors, but of all caſes of admiralty and maritime juriſdiction, which laſt are matters belonging excluſively to the civil law, in every nation in Chriſtendom

Not to enlarge upon the loſs of the invaluable right of trial by an impartial jury, ſo dear to every friend of liberty, the monſtrous expence and inconvenience of the mode of proceedings to be adopted, are ſuch, as will prove intolerable to the people of this country. The lengthy proceedings of the civil law courts in the chancery of England, and in the courts of Scotland and France, are ſuch that few men of middle fortune can endure the expence of; the poor man muſt there ſubmit to the wealthy. Length of purſe will too often prevail againſt right and juſtice. For inſtance, we are told by the learned judge Blackſtone, that a queſtion only on the property of an ox, of the value of three guineas, originating under the civil law proceedings in Scotland, after many interlocutory orders and ſentences below, was carried at length from the court of quarter ſeſſions, the higheſt court in that part of Great Britain, by way of appeal to the houſe of lords, where the queſtion of law and fact was finally determined He adds, that no pique or ſpirit, could in the court of the king's bench or common pleas at Weſtminſter, have given continuance to ſuch a cauſe for a tenth part of the time, nor have coſt above the tenth part of the expence Yet the coſt in the courts of the king's bench and common pleas in England, are infinitely greater than thoſe which the people of this country have ever experienced. We abhor the idea of loſing the tranſcendent privilege of trial by jury, with the loſs of which, it is remarked by the ſame learned author, that in Sweden the liberties of the commons were extinguiſhed by an ariſtocratical ſenate; and that trial by jury and the liberty of the people went out together. At the ſame time we regret the intolerable delay, the enormous expences and infinite vexation to which the people of this country will be expoſed from the voluminous proceedings of the courts of civil law and eſpecially from the appellate juriſdiction, by means of which a man may be drawn from the utmoſt boundaries of this extenſive country to the ſeat of the ſupreme court of the nation to contend, perhaps, with a wealthy and powerful adverſary. The conſequence of this eſtabliſhment will be an abſolute confirmation of the power of ariſtocratical influence in the courts of juſtice; for the common people will not be able to contend or ſtruggle againſt it.

(To be continued.)

Meſſrs. Printers,

If you think the following piece will entertain any of your readers you will oblige a correſpondent by inſerting it.

INDULGENT nature ſeems to have exempted this country from many of thoſe epidemics which are ſo fatal in other parts of the world. A want of rain for a few days beyond the expected ſeaſon, in ſome parts of the globe, ſpreads famine, deſtolation, and terror, over the whole country, but in this fortunate land, the invariant courſe of health in every breeze, and the huſbandman ever ſows in joyful expectation.

But though the country be exempt from real evils, it is not more happy on this account than others.

The people are afflicted, it is true, with neither famine nor peſtilence, but then there is a diſeaſe peculiar to the country, which every ſeaſon makes ſtrange ravages among them; it ſpreads with peſtilential rapidity, and infects almoſt every rank of people; what is ſtill more ſtrange this peculiar malady has no name; which I ſhall give the appellation of Epidemic Terror.

A ſeaſon is never known to paſs, in which the people are not viſited by this cruel calamity, in one ſhape or another, ſeemingly different, though ever the ſame; one year it aſſumes from a baker's ſhop in the ſhape of a pound cake, the next it takes the appearance of a comet with a fiery tail, the third it threatens like a flat bottomed boat, and the fourth it carries conſternation in the bite of a mad dog The people, when once infected, looſe their reliſh for happineſs, ſaunter about with looks of deſpondence, aſk for the calamities of the day and receive no conſolation but in beholding each others diſtreſs. It is inſignificant how remote or near, how weak or powerful, the objects of terror may be, when once they reſolve to fright and be frighted; the moſt trifling ſhow conſternation and dismay; each proportions his fears, not to the object, but the dread of others; for, when once the fermentation is begun, it goes on of itſelf, though the original cauſe be diſcontinued which firſt ſet it in motion.

A dread of mad dogs is the epidemic terror which now prevails, and part of the country is actually groaning under the malignity of its influence. The people ſally from their houſes with that circumſpection which is prudent in ſuch as expect a mad dog at every corner.

The manner of knowing whether a dog be mad or not, ſomewhat reſembles the ancient cuſtom of trying witches. The old woman ſuſpected was tied hand and foot and thrown into the water. If ſhe ſwam, then ſhe was inſtantly carried off to be burnt for a witch: if ſhe ſunk, then indeed ſhe was acquitted of the charge, but drowned in the experiment. In the ſame manner a crowd gather round a dog ſuſpected of madneſs, and they begin by teazing the devoted animal on every ſide If he attempts to ſtand on the defenſive, and bite then he is unanimouſly found guilty, for "a mad dog always ſnaps at every thing." If, on the contrary, he ſtrives to eſcape by running away, then he can expect no compaſſion, "for mad dogs always run ſtraight forward before them."

It is pleaſant enough for a neutral being, like me, who has no ſhare in theſe direful calamities, to mark the ſtages of this dreadful diſeaſe. The terror at firſt feebly enters with a diſregarded ſtory of a little dog, that had gone through the neighbourhood, which was thought to be mad by ſeveral who had ſeen him. The next account comes, that a maſtiff ran through a certain town, and had bit five geeſe, which immediately ran mad, foamed at the bill, and died in great agonies ſoon after. Then comes an affecting ſtory of a poor little boy bit in the leg, and death is inevitable for the want of ſalt water to bathe him in. When the people have ſufficiently ſhuddered at that, they are next congealed with a frightful account of a man who was ſaid lately to have died from a bite he had received ſome years before. This relation only prepares the way for another ſtill more hideous: as how the maſter of the family, with ſeven children, were all bit by a mad lap dog; and how the poor father firſt perceived the infection by calling for a draught of water, where he ſaw the lap dog ſwimming in the cup.

When epidemic terror is thus once excited, every morning comes loaded with ſome new diſaſter; as in ſtories of ghoſts each loves to hear the account, tho' it only ſerves to make him uneaſy, for there each liſtener with eagarneſs, and adds to the ſtories with new circumſtances of horror. A lady, for inſtance; in the country of very weak nerves, has been frightened with the barking of a dog; and this, alas! too frequently happens. The ſtory ſoon improved, and ſpreads, that a mad dog had frightened a lady of diſtinction. Theſe circumſtances begin to grow terrible before they have reached the next adjoining village; and there the reports, that a lady of quality was bit

by a mad maſtiff. This account every moment gathers new ſtrength, and grows more diſmal as it approaches; and by the time it arrives, the lady is deſcribed with wild eyes, foaming at the mouth, running mad upon all four, barking like a dog, and biting her ſervants, &c.

My landlady, a good natured woman, but a little credulous, waked me ſome mornings ago, before the uſual hour, with horror and aſtoniſhment in her looks. She deſired me, if I had any regard for my ſafety, to keep within, for a few days ago, ſo diſmal an accident had happened, as to put all the world on their guard. A mad dog, down in the country, ſhe aſſured me, had bit a farmer, who ſoon became mad, ran into his own yard, and bit a fine brindled cow; the cow quickly became as mad as the man, began to foam at the mouth, and raiſing herſelf up, walked about on her hind legs, ſometimes barking like a dog, and ſometimes attempting to talk like the farmer. Upon examining the ground of this ſtory, I found my landlady had it from one neighbour, who had it from another neighbour, who had it from very good authority.

Were moſt ſtories of this nature well examined, they would be found to be equally ridiculous.

Foreign Intelligence.

AMSTERDAM, October 11.

ON Tueſday laſt the burghermaſters received the following letter, from his highneſs the duke of Brunſwick, dated Amſterdam the 9th inſt.

"In order to ſecure the requiſition of his Pruſſian majeſty, and the honor of his arms, of being a ſure of diſarming the auxiliaries and free corps that ſhall be found in Amſterdam I demand of the burghermaſters and council of the city, for my entire ſatisfaction of the legal mode of their being diſarmed, that the Leyden Port or gate be delivered to his majeſty's troops, that ſhall appear there to morrow at noon; and I pledge myſelf no one ſhall come into the city; that the ſtricteſt diſcipline ſhall be obſerved, and that the troops ſhall ſtay no longer after the reſolution of the ſtate, with reſpect to their being diſarmed, ſhall have been put in execution. You ſee, gentlemen, I aſk no more than what the ſtates require, and what other cities, ſuch as Dordrecht and Rotterdam deſired of me.

C. G. P. B. of BRUNSWICK.

In conſequence of the above on Wedneſday morning, a deputation of two burghermaſters, and two of his council, waited on his highneſs, who was near the Leyden port, or gate, in order to ſettle every thing relative to the preſent circumſtances; and in the afternoon 150 of the Pruſſian troops came into the city, and took poſſeſſion of that port.

LONDON, October 16.

The Hebe frigate which lately peeped into Breſt, and of conſequence brought ſome private intelligence to government, has ſailed again, in company with two men of war of 74 guns; from which the conjecture is, that they are gone in queſt of the two men of war that lately ſailed from Breſt.

We are credibly informed that Spain is preparing for war with no leſs diligence than France. This may to moſt, perhaps a circumſtance of little moment, as thinking that much is not to be apprehended from the exertions of a nation that has ſuffered itſelf to be drubbed, inſulted and humbled by the petty ſtate of Algiers. In that view of the matter, ſomething may be ſaid; but in another, it is a ſignal not to be altogether neglected. It helps to explain the true deſigns of the other branch of the houſe of Bourbon, whatever evaſive anſwers they chuſe to give to our remonſtrances; and therefore, as what Spaniards do, having no immediate object of their own to proſecute, muſt be done by concert, we may naturally enough infer, that our neareſt neighbours are not ſo very innocent in their intentions as they pretend.

The great alarm that gave riſe to the preſent preparations for war, it is ſaid aroſe from the intercepted letters of the marquis de Verac. By theſe ſir James Harris is ſaid to have diſcovered a dark and complicated ſcene of perfidy and intrigue between the Dutch patriots, the French and others, who are not ſuſpected by the nation at large to have any hoſtile views towards the crown of Great Britain.

Oct. 18. By the mails of yeſterday, the following gallant action is confirmed, of which ſome imperfect accounts had been received:

"A Ruſſian frigate ſailed from Cherſon to Sebaſtopolis in Crimea, and not knowing of the declaration of war, was ſuddenly attacked by eight Turkiſh veſſels, one of which was of the line, and two others, frigates: the reſt armed tranſports. Notwithſtanding this unequal engagement, the Ruſſian veſſel not only did not receive any damage, but actually kept up ſuch a fire on the Turks, as obliged them to quit the ſeas; the Ruſſian captain, with ſeven glorious wounds he had received, had the ſatisfaction to ſee them fly before him, and afterwards came in Triumph into the harbour of Sebaſtopolis.

American Occurrences.

SALEM, Dec. 18.

We here a veſſel is arrived at Portſmouh from the Weſt Indies, brings intelligence, that the Engliſh iſlands are opened to the Americas, in conſequence of the expectation of a war.

NEW-BRUNSWICK, Dec. 24.

It was obſerved by a ſpectator, on Wedneſday, at the ceremony of proclaiming the ratification of the new government, that the third fire given by the light infantry, which was a broken one, ſurpriſed him, being ſo badly executed by ſo complete and well diſciplined a body of men--O, ſir, (replied the officer) the deſign was to repreſent the ſhattered condition of the ſtate of Rhode-Iſland.

BOSTON, Dec. 24.

A few days ago, ſays a London paper of September 11 arrived in town, Mr. Payne, the celebrated author of Common Senſe.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 31.

In ſpeaking of the credit of the United States, Mr. M'Kean, in the late convention alluded to the loan which had been raiſed in Holland, declaring that it was accompliſhed by the meer addreſs of the negociator, and that the lenders themſelves had ſince ſold out at a conſiderable loſs.

A letter from Lancaſter, ſays, "It is with pleaſure I inform you, that the people here continue to be warmly federal. The new conſtitution has the advantage of all great truths--the more it is examined, the more it is admired.

"The inhabitants of our town, on the morning of the day their deputies in convention were to return, fired a morning gun, and at twelve o'clock 13 rounds were fired out of a piece of artillery belonging to the ſtate. From that time until night all the bell's in town were ringing. I never had been a witneſs of ſo much reſpect being paid by the people to their delegates, or of more general joy on any occaſion."

Pittſburgh, February 2.

By a gentleman who arrived here on Wedneſday laſt from Sanduſky, we are informed, that the Indians are determined to oppoſe the ſettlement of the country weſt of the Ohio; this gentleman further informs us, that their attendance on the treaty to be held next ſpring, will, in a great meaſure, depend upon the perſons ſent to invite them, as without the greateſt attention paid them their principal chiefs will not attend.

Circular letters have been ſent by order of his excellency the governor of South Carolina to the members of the legiſlature, requiring them to meet in general aſſembly early in January, for the diſpatch of public buſineſs; and as the new federal conſtitution will be amongſt the firſt things propoſed for their conſideration, it is expected there will be a quorum the firſt day.

STANZAS on the Emigration to America, and peopling the Weſtern Country.

[Written by Mr. Phillip Freneau.]

TO weſtern woods, and lonely plains,
Palemon from the crowd departs,
Where nature's wildeſt genius reigns,
To tame the ſoil, and plant the arts;
What wonders there ſhall freedom ſhow,
What mighty ſtates ſucceſſive grow!

From Europe's proud, deſpotic ſhores
Hither the ſtranger takes his way,
And in our new found world explores
A happier ſoil, a milder ſway,
Where no proud deſpot holds him down,
No ſlaves inſult him with a crown.

What charming ſcenes attract the eye,
On wild Ohio's ſavage ſtream!
Here nature reigns, whoſe works outvie
The boldeſt pattern art can frame;
Here ages paſt have roll'd away,
And foreſts bloom'd--but to decay.

From theſe fair plains, theſe rural ſeats,
So long conceal'd, ſo lately known,
The unſocial Indian far retreats,
To make ſome other clime his own,
Where other ſtreams leſs pleaſing flow,
And darker foreſts round him grow.

Great ſire of floods! whoſe varied wave [Miſſiſp.
Through climes and countries takes its way,
To whom creating nature gave
Ten thouſand ſtreams to ſwell thy ſway!
No longer ſhall they uſeleſs prove,
Nor idly through the foreſts rove;

Nor longer ſhall thy princely flood
From diſtant lakes be ſwell'd in vain,
Nor longer through a dark'ſome wood
Advance, unnoted to the main,
Far other ends the fates decree;
And commerce plans new freights for thee.

While virtue warms the generous breaſt
Here heaven born freedom ſhall reſide,
Nor ſhall the voice of war moleſt,
Nor Europe's all aſpiring pride;
Here reaſon ſhall new laws deviſe,
And order from confuſion riſe.

Forſaking kings and regal ſtate,
(A debt that reaſon deems ſacred)
The traveller owns, convinc'd tho' late,
No realm ſo free, ſo bleſt as this:
The earth is half to ſlaves conſign'd
And half to ſlavery more refin'd.

O come the time and haſte the day,
When man ſhall man no longer cruſh,
When reaſon ſhall enforce her ſway,
Nor theſe fair regions raiſe our bluſh,
Where ſtill the African complains,
And mourns his yet unbroken chains.

Far brighter ſcenes, a future age,
The muſe predicts, theſe ſtates ſhall hail,
Whoſe genius ſhall the world engage,
Whoſe deeds ſhall over death prevail,
And happier ſyſtems bring to view
Than all the eaſtern ſages knew.

ONE GUINEA REWARD.

SOME evil minded perſons, inimical to the intereſt of the United States, have for the ſeveral nights paſt attempted to diveſt the fence round this garriſon of the pales belonging to it. The above reward will be given to any perſon who will diſcover the author of ſuch wanted abuſe, ſo that they may receive the puniſhment which the civil law inflicts for theft.

Given at Fort Pitt, February 1, 1788.

MATTHEW ERNEST, Lieut. Artil. Com.

BY agreement between the rev. Wm. Marſhall, in Philadelphia, and the ſubſcriber, there will be expoſed to ſale, at public vendue, on Tueſday the fifteenth day of April, at twelve o'clock, at noon, in the houſe of Mr. David Duncan, in Pittſburg, A certain tract of land, lying on the waters of little Moon Run, near the river Ohio, in Waſhington county, about ſeven miles from Pittſburg, containing four hundred acres, with the uſual allowance. A clear title will be given, and the lands will be certainly ſold then for whatever is offered, to the higheſt bidder.

The ſubſcriber will purchaſe hemp, and give good encouragement to boys who will bind themſelves to learn the ropemaking buſineſs.

HUGH ROSS.

Pittſburg, February 1, 1788.

Mingoe bottom, Jan 15, 1788.

STRAYED or ſtolen from the ſubſcriber, a large Sorrel MARE, about fifteen or ſixteen hands high, in good order when taken away, a natural pacer, branded I. W. on the near ſhoulder or buttock. Whoever takes up ſaid mare, and the theif (if ſhe has been ſtolen) ſhall have Eight Dollars Reward, if taken up without the county, if within the county Six Dollars, or two dollars for the Mare only, and reaſonable charges, paid to any perſon who ſhall deliver ſaid Mare at Mingoe Bottom.

JOSEPH WELLS.

WANTED as an Apprentice to the HATTING BUSINESS, a LAD of about 14 years of age. Any perſon inclining to come to the above buſineſs, may apply to,

M. CURTIS.

Pittſburgh. Jan. 14, 1788.

CAME to the plantation of the ſubſcriber, living on Moon Run, near the mouth of Chartiers Creek, early laſt fall, A Black MARE, about 13 hands high, 6 or 7 years old, branded on the near ſhoulder and buttock I. C. The owner is deſired to come, prove his property, pay charges, and take her away.

JAMES SPIERS,

Waſhington County, Jan. 14, 1788.

TO BE LET,

And entered on the firſt of April.

A COMMODIOUS Houſe, thirty three feet ſquare, two ſtories high, with four rooms on each floor, four of which are fire rooms, a kitchen twenty feet by ſeventeen, an extenſive celiar, with a paſſage door in each front, and a double ſtable, with ſtalls for ten horſes, the whole will be well finiſhed, and pailed in in the neateſt manner and painted. This houſe is ſituated either for pleaſure or buſineſs, as it ſtands on an elevated ſituation, the upper apartments commanding not only a full view of the Monongahela, but alſo the Alleghany river, and in the moſt centrical part for buſineſs of any kind, in the town of Pittſburgh. A kitchen garden 120 feet by 60, which was well dunged laſt ſpring, may be had with the above premiſes; alſo a field of 27 acres, delightfully ſituated on the bank of Alleghany, one mile from Pittſburgh, 20 acres of which may be immediately thrown into meadow, and by good management will produce at leaſt 40 ton of hay yearly: theſe are acquiſitions that but few tenements in Pittſburgh can command. The whole will be let on the moſt eaſy terms to an approved tenant. Alſo a neat Store with a ſmall garden, oppoſite the new houſe of Meſſrs. Turnbull and Marmie, in Second-ſtreet, which will be made convenient, and alſo let on eaſy terms to an agreeable tenent. For terms apply to

A. FOWLER.

Pittſburgh, January 9, 1788.

N. B. Any Carpenter wanting employ and will engage to finiſh a ſtair caſe, may apply to the ſubſcriber.

TO BE SOLD,

A Plantation containing upwards of 300 acres of land, ſituate on Sawicky creek in Weſtmoreland county, about forty acres cleared; 12 of which is good meadow, and 30 or 40 acres more may be made; on which is the noted griſt and ſaw mills called Perry's Mills, a good two ſtory dwelling houſe, kitchen, barn and ſtill houſe; it is a good place for a tavern or ſtore, as the public roads leading from Bedford to Pittſburgh, from Ligonier to Simeral's ferry and to Greenſburgh. Likewiſe one other plantation in the ſame county, containing about 300 acres, between 60 and 70 is the firſt rate bottom on the Monongahela river, 45 acres cleared, 25 of which is good timothy meadow, the upland is chiefly walnut, on it is a good merchant mill, within about 200 yards of the Monongahela river, now in order for making merchantable flour, a dwelling houſe and ſtill houſe, and ſeveral other out houſes, it is well ſituate for public buſineſs or tranſporting flour down the river; there is a ferry kept there, and public roads leading from it to Pittſburgh, which is 15 miles diſtant, to Waſhington, to Union Town in Fayette county, to Simeral and Budd's ferries on Yough. Patents, and good titles will be given for both. Alſo ſeveral other tracts, ſome improved and ſome unimproved. Any perſon inclining to purchaſe may know the terms by applying to John Perry at Braddock's Fields, or the ſubſcriber on the premiſes.

JAMES PERRY.

SHERIFF's SALE.

A PLANTATION on the waters of Chartier's creek, in Waſhington county, adjoining lands of James Farrel and others, is taken in execution as as the property of the executors of Thomas Cook, deceaſed, and to be ſold by the late ſheriff. I do hereby warn all perſons from purchaſing this plantation at this ſale, as no good title can be made thereon, the patent being in me, by a patent from the commonwealth of Pennſylvania.

ROBERT M'GEE,

Head waters of Peter's and Chartier's creek Waſhington County.

John & William Irwin,

Have juſt received at their New Store in Pittſburgh A LARGE and general aſſortment of Dry Goods and Groceries, which they will ſell on the loweſt terms for caſh, peltry or country produce. No credit will be given to any perſon. Jan. 9. 1788.

Juſt Publiſhed and to be Sold at the Printing Office, Pittſburgh, the

PITTSBURGH ALMANAC

OR

WESTERN EPHEMERIS,

For the Year of our Lord 1788.

Which may be had at the Printing Office, Pittſburgh Wholeſale and Retail, on the moſt reaſonable Terms.

*** The calculations for this Almanac are made with the greateſt exactneſs to anſwer the meridian of the Weſtern Country.

SALT.

BEST Fine and Allum Salt to be ſold for Caſh, Wheat, Rye, or Barley, by Iſaac Craig & Co. at their Diſtillery.

Pittſburg, Sept. 5, 1787.

CAME to the plantation of the ſubſcriber, living at the nine mile run, three CALVES, one ſuppoſed to be two years old next ſpring, the other two yearlings. The owner may have them again by proving property and paying charges.

THOMAS GIBSON.

Weſtmoreland County, Jan. 2, 1788.

John Acheſon & Co.

HAVE removed their Store in Waſhington to captain George M'Cormick's, where they are now opening a freſh Aſſortment of Goods, ſuitable to the ſeaſon which they will ſell on reaſonable terms for pork, whiſkey, country linen, hemp, flax, all kinds of peltry, ſkins, &c.

Said company will open a ſtore at Mr. John Baldwin's, on Mingo creek, about the 10th of January, 1788, where they will receive for goods, wheat rye, and all the abovementioned articles. Thoſe who pleaſe to favor them with their cuſtom, may depend on being ſupplied on the moſt reaſonable terms.

All perſons indebted to ſaid company are deſired to come in and ſettle off their accounts immediately,

Town of Waſhington, Dec. 29, 1787.

A SCHOOL,

IS opened at the Houſe of Mr. M'NICKEL, in Front ſtreet, in which will be taught the Latin Language, Reading Engliſh Grammatically, Writing and Arithmetic, by

THOMAS TOUSEY.

Pittſburgh, January 4, 1788

N. B. An Evening School is alſo kept in the ſame Houſe.

ALL perſons indebted to the ſubſcriber are requeſted to call and diſcharge the ſame, as he intends leaving the place where he now lives, very ſhortly, and thoſe he ſtands indebted to are requeſted to call to have their accounts ſettled.

ÆNEAS M'CALLISTER.

Jan. 23, 1788.

SECRETARY's OFFICE.

Philadelphia, December 18, 1787.

NOTICE is hereby given to all perſons deſirous of contracting for opening and making good the road lately ſurveyed from Frankſtown branch of Juniata in Bedford county, to Conemaugh in the county of Weſtmoreland, and from thence down the ſouth ſide of ſaid river, to the mouth of the Loyalhannon; that propoſals for making the road will be received at the office aforeſaid, until the firſt day of April next.

CHARLES BIDDLE, Secretary.

This road is to be fifty feet in width, except in ſuch places as require digging, where it is to be only twelve feet.

IN COUNCIL,

Philadelphia, December 22, 1787.

WHEREAS divers inhabitants of the county of Bedford, have prayed that the ſtate highway, appointed by act of aſſembly of the 25th of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty five, may be confirmed and made good: And Whereas the monies appropriated by the ſaid act of aſſembly, are inſufficient for making the ſaid road ſixty feet wide as the law directs, and council being deſirous of complying with the ſaid requeſt as far as the money appropriated will admit; therefore,

Ordered, That ſuch part of the ſaid road as leads from this ſide of Sideling Hill to the oppoſite ſide of Ray's Hill, in the county of Bedford, be cleared and made good and ſufficient, to be twelve feet wide on the ſides of the hills, or among the rocks, and not leſs than twenty feet wide on the other ground, and room to be made for not leſs than three waggons to draw off to the one ſide in the narrow places, at a convenient diſtance for others to paſs by, and the waters to run next to the hill ſide.

Ordered, That public notice be given that propoſals for doing the aforeſaid work, will be received at the Secretary's Office in Philadelphia, until the firſt day of April next.

Extract from the Minutes,

JAMES TRIMBLE,
For Charles Biddle, Secrtary.

Sheriff's Sale.

BY virtue of the commonwealth writ of venditioni exponas to me directed, will be ſold at public vendue in the town of Waſhington, on Tueſday the 5th day of February next, a tract of land ſituate on the ſouth branch of King's creek, in Smith township in the county of Waſhington, adjoining lands of John Beazer, William M'Laughlin and others, containing 300 acres, be the ſame more or leſs, which was ſeized and taken in execution as the property of Samuel Johnſon, and to be ſold by

JAMES MARSHEL,
late ſheriff W. C.

Jan. 16, 1788.

FLAX

A Generous price, in caſh or goods, will be given for a quantity of well heckled Flax. Enquire of the printers.

Pittſburg, Feb. 1, 1788.